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AN
Centennial
ADDRESS

TO

THE CITIZENS OF BOSTON,

ON THE XVIITH OF SEPTEMBER, M DCCC XXX,

THE CLOSE

OF

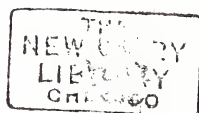
THE SECOND CENTURY

FROM THE

FIRST SETTLEMENT OF THE CITY.

BY **JOSIAH QUINCY, LL. D.**

JOSEPH P. LITTLE, PRINTER, HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
PRESIDENT OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY.



BOSTON:

J. H. EASTBURN, PRINTER TO THE CITY.

1830.

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Quincy, Josiah, 1772-1864.

—An address to the citizens of Boston, on the xviith of September, mccccxxx, the close of the second century from the first settlement of the city. By Josiah Quincy ... Boston, J. H. Eastburn, printer to the city, 1830.

68 p. 22^{cm}.

1. Boston—Hist.—Colonial period.

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Mem. &c.

CITY OF BOSTON.

In Common Council, Sept. 17, 1830.

ORDERED, that the Committee of Arrangements for the Celebration of this day be, and they are hereby, directed to present the thanks of the City Council to the Honorable JOSIAH QUINCY, for the learned, eloquent, and appropriate Address, this day delivered by him, and respectfully request a copy of said Address for the press.

Sent up for concurrence,

B. T. PICKMAN, *President.*

In the Board of Aldermen, Sept. 17, 1830.

Read and concurred.

H. G. OTIS, *Mayor.*

A true copy,

Attest,

S. F. MCLEARY, *City Clerk.*

Boston, Sept. 17, 1830.

Hon. JOSIAH QUINCY,

THE undersigned, the Committee of Arrangements for the Centennial Celebration of the Settlement of Boston, have the honor to enclose you an attested copy of a vote of the City Council, and respectfully ask your compliance with the request contained therein.

H. G. OTIS.

BENJAMIN RUSSELL.

WINSLOW LEWIS.

J. EVELETH.

TH. MINNS.

B. T. PICKMAN.

J. W. JAMES.

JOHN P. BIGELOW.

WASHINGTON P. GRAGG.

ADDRESS.

OF all the affections of man, those which connect him with ancestry are among the most natural and generous. They enlarge the sphere of his interests ; multiply his motives to virtue ; and give intensity to his sense of duty to generations to come, by the perception of obligation to those which are past. In whatever mode of existence man finds himself, be it savage or civilized, he perceives that he is indebted for the far greater part of his possessions and enjoyments, to events over which he had no control ; to individuals, whose names, perhaps, never reached his ear ; to sacrifices, in which he never shared ; and to sufferings, awakening in his bosom few and very transient sympathies.

Cities and empires, not less than individuals, are chiefly indebted for their fortunes to circumstances and influences independent of the labors and wisdom of the passing generation. Is our lot cast in a happy soil, beneath a favored sky, and under the shelter of free institutions ? How few of all these blessings do we owe to our own power, or our own

prudence ! How few, on which we cannot discern the impress of long past generations !

It is natural, that reflections of this kind should awaken curiosity concerning the men of past ages. It is suitable, and characteristic of noble natures, to love to trace in venerated institutions the evidences of ancestral worth and wisdom ; and to cherish that mingled sentiment of awe and admiration, which takes possession of the soul, in the presence of ancient, deep-laid, and massy monuments of intellectual and moral power.

Under impulses thus natural and generous, at the invitation of your municipal authorities, you have assembled, Citizens of Boston, on this day, in commemoration of the era of the foundation of your city, bearing in fond recollection the virtues of your fathers, to pass in review the circumstances which formed their character, and the institutions which bear its stamp ; to take a rapid survey of that broad horizon, which is resplendent with their glories ; to compress, within the narrow circle of an hour, the results of memory, perception, and hope ; combining honor to the past, gratitude for the present, and fidelity to the future.

Standing, after the lapse of two centuries, on the very spot selected for us by our fathers, and surrounded by social, moral, and religious blessings greater than paternal love, in its fondest visions, ever dared to fancy, we naturally turn our eyes backward, on the descending current of years ; seeking the causes of that prosperity, which has given this city so distinguished a name and rank among similar associations of men.

Happily its foundations were not laid in dark ages, nor is its origin to be sought among loose and obscure traditions. The age of our early ancestors was, in many respects, eminent for learning and civilization. Our ancestors themselves were deeply versed in the knowledge and attainments of their period. Not only their motives and acts appear in the general histories of their time, but they are unfolded in their own writings, with a simplicity and boldness, at once commanding admiration and not permitting mistake. If this condition of things restrict the imagination in its natural tendency to exaggerate, it assists the judgment rightly to analyze, and justly to appreciate. If it deny the power, enjoyed by ancient cities and states, to elevate our ancestors above the condition of humanity, it confers a much more precious privilege, that of estimating by unequivocal standards the intellectual and moral greatness of the early, intervening, and passing periods; and thus of judging concerning comparative attainment and progress in those qualities which constitute the dignity of our species. Instead of looking back, as antiquity was accustomed to do, on fabling legends of giants and heroes,—of men exceeding in size, in strength, and in labor, all experience and history, and consequently, being obliged to contemplate the races of men, dwindling with time, and growing less amid increasing stimulants and advantages; we are thus enabled to view things in lights more conformed to the natural suggestions of reason, and the actual results of observation;—to witness improvement in its slow but sure progress; in a general advance, constant and unquestionable;—

to pay due honors to the greatness and virtues of our early ancestors, and be, at the same time, just to the not inferior greatness and virtues of succeeding generations of men, their descendants and our progenitors. Thus we substantiate the cheering conviction, that the virtues of ancient times have not been lost, or debased, in the course of their descent, but, in many respects, have been refined and elevated ; and so standing faithful to the generations which are past, and fearless in the presence of the generations to come, we accumulate on our own times the responsibility, that an inheritance, which has descended to us enlarged and improved, shall not be transmitted by us diminished or deteriorated.

As our thoughts course along the events of past times, from the hour of the first settlement of Boston to that in which we are now assembled, they trace the strong features of its character, indelibly impressed upon its acts and in its history ; — clear conceptions of duty ; bold vindications of right ; readiness to incur dangers and meet sacrifices, in the maintenance of liberty, civil and religious. Early selected as the place of the chief settlement of New England, it has, through every subsequent period, maintained its relative ascendancy. In the arts of peace and in the energies of war, in the virtues of prosperity and adversity, in wisdom to plan and vigor to execute, in extensiveness of enterprise, success in accumulating wealth, and liberality in its distribution, its inhabitants, if not unrivalled, have not been surpassed, by any similar society of men. Through good report and evil report, its influence has, at all times, been so distinctly seen and acknowledged in events, and

been so decisive on the destinies of the region of which it was the head, that the inhabitants of the adjoining colonies of a foreign nation early gave the name of this place to the whole country; and at this day, among their descendants, the people of the whole United States * are distinguished by the name of "Bostonians."

Amidst perils and obstructions, on the bleak side of the mountain on which it was first cast, the seedling oak, self-rooted, shot upward with a determined vigor. Now slighted and now assailed; amidst alternating sunshine and storm; with the axe of a native foe at its root, and the lightning of a foreign power, at times, scathing its top, or withering its branches, it grew, it flourished, it stands,—may it for ever stand!—the honor of the field.

On this occasion, it is proper to speak of the founders of our city, and of their glory. Now in its true acceptation, the term *glory* expresses the splendor, which emanates from virtue in the act of producing general and permanent good. Right conceptions then of the glory of our ancestors are alone to be attained by analyzing their virtues. These virtues, indeed, are not seen characterized in breathing bronze; or in living marble. Our ancestors have left no Corinthian temples on our hills, no Gothic cathedrals on our plains, no proud pyramid, no storied obelisk, in our cities. But mind is there. Sagacious enterprise is there. An active, vigorous, intelligent, moral population throng our cities, and predominate in our fields; men, patient of labor, submissive to law, respectful to authority, regardful of right,

* See note A.

faithful to liberty. These are the monuments of our ancestors. They stand immutable and immortal, in the social, moral, and intellectual condition of their descendants. They exist in the spirit, which their precepts instilled, and their example implanted. Let no man think that to analyze, and place in a just light, the virtues of the first settlers of New England, is a departure from the purpose of this celebration; or deem so meanly of our duties, as to conceive that merely local relations, the circumstances which have given celebrity and character to this single city, are the only, or the most appropriate topics for the occasion. It was to this spot, during twelve successive years, that the great body of those first settlers emigrated. In this place, they either fixed permanently their abode, or took their departure from it for the coast, or the interior. Whatever honor devolves on this metropolis from the events connected with its first settlement, is not solitary or exclusive; it is shared with Massachusetts; with New England; in some sense, with the whole United States. For what part of this wide empire, be it sea or shore, lake or river, mountain or valley, have the descendants of the first settlers of New England not traversed? what depth of forest, not penetrated? what danger of nature or man, not defied? Where is the cultivated field, in redeeming which from the wilderness, their vigor has not been displayed? Where, amid unsubdued nature, by the side of the first log-hut of the settler, does the school-house stand and the church-spire rise, unless the sons of New England are there? Where does improvement advance, under the active energy of willing hearts and ready

hands, prostrating the moss-covered monarchs of the wood, and from their ashes, amid their charred roots, bidding the greensward and the waving harvest to upspring, and the spirit of the fathers of New England is not seen, hovering, and shedding around the benign influences of sound social, moral, and religious institutions, stronger and more enduring than knotted oak or tempered steel? The swelling tide of their descendants has spread upon our coasts; ascended our rivers; taken possession of our plains. Already it encircles our lakes. At this hour the rushing noise of the advancing wave startles the wild beast in his lair among the prairies of the West. Soon it shall be seen climbing the Rocky mountains, and, as it dashes over their cliffs, shall be hailed by the dwellers on the Pacific, as the harbinger of the coming blessings of safety, liberty, and truth.

The glory, which belongs to the virtues of our ancestors, is seen radiating from the nature of their design; — from the spirit in which it was executed; — and from the character of their institutions.

That emigration of Englishmen, which, two centuries ago, resulted in the settlement, on this day, of this metropolis, was distinguished by the comparative greatness of the means employed, and the number, rank, fortune, and intellectual endowments of those engaged in it, as leaders, or associates. Twelve ships, transporting somewhat less than nine hundred souls, constituted the physical strength of the first enterprise. In the course of the twelve succeeding years, twenty-two thousand souls emigrated in one hundred and ninety-two ships, at a cost, including the private expenses of the adventurers, which can-

not be estimated, in our currency, at less than one million of dollars. At that time the tide of emigration was stayed. Intelligent writers of the last century assert that more persons had subsequently gone from New England to Europe, than had come to it during the same period from that quarter of the globe. A cotemporary historian* represents the leaders of the first emigration, as "gentlemen of good estate and reputation, descended from, or connected by marriage with, noble families; having large means, and great yearly revenue, sufficient in all reason to content; their tables abundant in food, their coffers in coin; possessing beautiful houses, filled with rich furniture; gainful in their business, and growing rich daily; well provided for themselves, and having a sure competence for their children; wanting nothing of a worldly nature to complete the prospects of ease and enjoyment, or which could contribute to the pleasures, the prospects, or the splendors of life."

The question forces itself on the mind, Why did such men emigrate? Why did men of their condition exchange a pleasant and prosperous home for a repulsive and cheerless wilderness; a civilized for a barbarous vicinity? why, quitting peaceful and happy dwellings, dare the dangers of tempestuous and unexplored seas, the rigors of untried and severe climates, the difficulties of a hard soil and the inhuman warfare of a savage foe? An answer must be sought in the character of the times; and in the spirit, which the condition of their native country and age had a direct tendency to excite and cherish.

* Johnson's "Wonder-Working Providence of Sion's-Saviour in New England," ch. 12.

The general civil and religious aspect of the English nation, in the age of our ancestors, and in that immediately preceding their emigration, was singularly hateful and repulsive. A foreign hierarchy, contending with a domestic despotism for infallibility and supremacy, in matters of faith. Confiscation, imprisonment, the axe and the stake, approved and customary means of making proselytes and promoting uniformity. The fires of Smithfield, now lighted by the corrupt and selfish zeal of Roman pontiffs; and now rekindled, by the no less corrupt and selfish zeal of English sovereigns. All men clamorous for the rights of conscience, when in subjection; all actively persecuting, when in authority. Every where religion considered as a state entity, and having apparently no real existence, except in associations in support of established power, or in opposition to it.

The moral aspect of the age was not less odious than its civil. Every benign and characteristic virtue of Christianity was publicly conjoined, in close alliance, with its most offensive opposite. Humility wearing the tiara, and brandishing the keys, in the excess of the pride of temporal and spiritual power. The Roman pontiff, under the title of "the servant of servants," with his foot on the neck of every monarch in Christendom; and under the seal of the fisherman of Galilee, dethroning kings and giving away kingdoms. Purity, content, and self-denial preached by men, who held the wealth of Europe tributary to their luxury, sensuality, and spiritual pride. Brotherly love in the mouth, while the hand applied the instrument of torture. Charity, mutual forbearance,

and forgiveness chanted in unison with clanking chains and crackling faggots.

Nor was the intellectual aspect of the age less repulsive than its civil and moral. The native charm of the religious feeling lost, or disfigured amidst forms, and ceremonies, and disciplines. By one class, piety was identified with copes, and crosiers, and tippets, and genuflexions. By another class, all these were abhorred as the tricks and conjuring garments of popery, or at best, in the language of Calvin, as "tolerable fooleries"; while they, on their part, identified piety with looks, and language, and gestures, extracted or typified from scripture, and fashioned according to the newest "pattern of the mount." By none were the rights of private judgment acknowledged. By all, creeds, and dogmas, and confessions, and catechisms, collected from scripture with metaphysical skill, arranged with reference to temporal power and influence, and erected into standards of faith, were made the flags and rallying points of the spiritual swordsmen of the church militant.

The first emotion, which this view of that period excites, at the present day, is contempt or disgust. But the men of that age are no more responsible for the mistakes, into which they fell, under the circumstances in which the intellectual eye was then placed, than we, at this day, for those optical illusions to which the natural eye is subject, before time and experience have corrected the judgment and instructed it in the true laws of nature and vision. It was their fate to live in the crepuscular state of the intellectual day, and by the law of their nature they were com-

pelled to see things darkly, through false and shifting mediums, and in lights at once dubious and deceptive. For centuries, a night of Egyptian darkness had overspread Europe, in the "palpable obscure" of which, priests and monarchs and nobles had not only found means to enthrall the minds of the multitude, but absolutely to lose and bewilder their own. When the light of learning began to dawn, the first rays of the rising splendor dazzled and confused, rather than directed the mind. As the coming light penetrated the thick darkness, the ancient cumulative cloud severed into new forms. Its broken masses became tinged with an uncertain and shifting radiance. Shadows assumed the aspect of substances; the evanescent suggestions of fancy, the look of fixed realities. The wise were at a loss what to believe, or what to discredit; how to quit and where to hold. On all sides sprang up sects and parties, infinite in number, incomprehensible in doctrine; often imperceptible in difference; yet each claiming for itself infallibility, and, in the sphere it affected to influence, supremacy; each violent and hostile to the others, haughty and hating its non-adhering brother, in a spirit wholly repugnant to the humility and love inculcated by that religion, by which each pretended to be actuated; and ready to resort, when it had power, to corporal penalties, even to death itself, as allowed modes of self-defence and proselytism.

It was the fate of the ancestors of New England to have their lot cast in a state of society thus unprecedented. They were of that class of the English nation, in whom the systematic persecutions of a concentrated civil and ecclesiastical despotism had

enkindled an intense interest concerning man's social and religious rights. Their sufferings had created in their minds a vivid and inextinguishable love of civil and religious liberty ; a fixed resolve, at every peril, to assert and maintain their natural rights. Among the boldest and most intelligent of this class of men, chiefly known by the name of Puritans, were the founders of this metropolis. To a superficial view, their zeal seems directed to forms and ceremonies and disciplines, which have become, at this day, obsolete or modified, and so seems mistaken or misplaced. But the wisdom of zeal for any object is not to be measured by the particular nature of that object, but by the nature of the principle, which the circumstances of the times, or of society, have identified with such object. Liberty, whether civil or religious, is among the noblest objects of human regard. Yet, to a being constituted like man, abstract liberty has no existence, and over him no practical influence. To be for him an efficient principle of action, it must be embodied in some sensible object. Thus the form of a cap, the color of a surplice, ship-money, a tax on tea, or on stamped paper, objects in themselves indifferent, have been so inseparably identified with the principle temporarily connected with them, that martyrs have died at the stake, and patriots have fallen in the field, and this wisely and nobly, for the sake of the principle, made by the circumstances of the time to inhere in them.

Now in the age of our fathers, the principle of civil and religious liberty became identified with forms, disciplines, and modes of worship. The zeal

of our fathers was graduated by the importance of the inhering principle. This gave elevation to that zeal. This creates interest in their sufferings. This entitles them to rank among patriots and martyrs, who have voluntarily sacrificed themselves to the cause of conscience and their country. Indignant at being denied the enjoyment of the rights of conscience, which were in that age identified with those sensible objects, and resolute to vindicate them, they quitted country and home, crossed the Atlantic, and, without other auspices than their own strength and their confidence in Heaven, they proceeded to lay the foundation of a commonwealth, under the principles and by the stamina of which, their posterity have established an actual and uncontroverted independence, not less happy than glorious. To their enthusiastic vision, all the comforts of life and all the pleasures of society, were light and worthless in comparison with the liberty they sought. The tempestuous sea was less dreadful than the troubled waves of civil discord; the quick-sands, the unknown shoals, and unexplored shores of a savage coast, less fearful than the metaphysical abysses and perpetually shifting whirlpools of despotic ambition and ecclesiastical policy and intrigue; the bow and the tomahawk of the transatlantic barbarian, less terrible than the flame and faggot of the civilized European. In the calm of our present peace and prosperity, it is difficult for us to realize or appreciate their sorrows and sacrifices. They sought a new world, lying far off in space, destitute of all the attractions which make home and native land dear and venerable. Instead of cultivated fields and a civiliz-

ed neighbourhood, the prospect before them presented nothing but dreary wastes, cheerless climates, and repulsive wildernesses, possessed by wild beasts and savages; the intervening ocean unexplored and intersected by the fleets of a hostile nation; its usual dangers multiplied to the fancy, and in fact, by ignorance of real hazards, and natural fears of such, as the event proved to be imaginary.

“Pass on,” exclaims one of these adventurers,* “and attend, while these soldiers of faith ship for this western world; while they and their wives and their little ones take an eternal leave of their country and kindred. With what heart-breaking affection did they press loved friends to their bosoms, whom they were never to see again! their voices broken by grief, till tears streaming eased their hearts to recovered speech again; natural affections clamorous as they take a perpetual banishment from their native soil; their enterprise scorned; their motives derided; and they counted but madmen and fools. But time shall discover the wisdom with which they were endued, and the sequel shall show how their policy overtopped all the human policy of this world.”

Winthrop, their leader and historian, in his simple narrative of the voyage, exhibits them, when in severe sufferings, resigned; in instant expectation of battle, fearless; amid storm, sickness, and death, calm, confident, and undismayed. “Our trust,” says he, “was in the Lord of hosts.” For years, Winthrop, the leader of the first great enterprise, was the chief magistrate of the infant metropolis. His

* Johnson in his “Wonder-Working Providences of Sion’s Saviour in New England,” ch. 12.

prudence guided its councils. His valor directed its strength. His life and fortune were spent in fixing its character, or in improving its destinies. A bolder spirit never dwelt, a truer heart never beat, in any bosom. Had Boston, like Rome, a consecrated calendar, there is no name better entitled than that of Winthrop to be registered, as its "patron saint."

From Salem and Charlestown, the places of their first landing, they ranged the bay of Massachusetts to fix the head of the settlement. After much deliberation, and not without opposition, they selected this spot; known to the natives by the name of *Shawmut*, and to the adjoining settlers by that of *Trimountain*; the former indicating the abundance and sweetness of its waters; the latter, the peculiar character of its hills.

Accustomed as we are to the beauties of the place and its vicinity, and in the daily perception of the charms of its almost unrivalled scenery,—in the centre of a natural amphitheatre, whose sloping descents the riches of a laborious and intellectual cultivation adorn,—where hill and vale, river and ocean, island and continent, simple nature and unobtrusive art, with contrasted and interchanging harmonies, form a rich and gorgeous landscape, we are little able to realize the almost repulsive aspect of its original state. We wonder at the blindness of those, who, at one time, constituted the majority, and had well nigh fixed elsewhere the chief seat of the settlement. Nor are we easily just to Winthrop, Johnson, and their associates, whose skill and judgment selected this spot, and whose firmness settled the wavering minds of the multitude upon it, as the place for their

metropolis ; a decision, which the experience of two centuries has irrevocably justified, and which there is no reason to apprehend that the events or opinions of any century to come will reverse.

To the eyes of the first emigrants, however, where now exists a dense and aggregated mass of living beings and material things, amid all the accommodations of life, the splendors of wealth, the delights of taste, and whatever can gratify the cultivated intellect, there were then only a few hills, which, when the ocean receded, were intersected by wide marshes, and when its tide returned, appeared a group of lofty islands, abruptly rising from the surrounding waters. Thick forests concealed the neighbouring hills, and the deep silence of nature was broken only by the voice of the wild beast or bird, and the warwhoop of the savage.

The advantages of the place were, however, clearly marked by the hand of nature ; combining at once, present convenience, future security, and an ample basis for permanent growth and prosperity. Towards the continent it possessed but a single avenue, and that easily fortified. Its hills then commanded, not only its own waters, but the hills of the vicinity. At the bottom of a deep bay, its harbour was capable of containing the proudest navy of Europe ; yet, locked by islands and guarded by winding channels, it presented great difficulty of access to strangers, and, to the inhabitants, great facility of protection against maritime invasion ; while to those acquainted with its waters, it was both easy and accessible. To these advantages were added goodness and plenteousness of water, and the security afforded by that

once commanding height, now, alas! obliterated and almost forgotten, since art and industry have levelled the predominating mountain of the place; from whose lofty and imposing top the beacon-fire was accustomed to rally the neighbouring population, on any threatened danger to the metropolis. A single cottage, from which ascended the smoke of the hospitable hearth of Blackstone, who had occupied the peninsula several years, was the sole civilized mansion in the solitude; the kind master of which, at first, welcomed the coming emigrants; but soon, disliking the sternness of their manners and the severity of their discipline, abandoned the settlement. His rights as first occupant were recognised by our ancestors; and in November, 1634, Edmund Quincy, Samuel Wildbore, and others were authorized to assess a rate of thirty pounds for Mr. Blackstone,* on the payment of which all local rights in the peninsula became vested in its inhabitants.

The same bold spirit, which thus led our ancestors across the Atlantic and made them prefer a wilderness where liberty might be enjoyed, to civilized Europe where it was denied, will be found characterizing all their institutions. Of these, the limits of the time permit me to speak only in general terms. The scope of their policy has been usually regarded as though it were restricted to the acquisition of religious liberty in the relation of colonial dependence. No man, however, can truly understand their institutions and the policy on which they were founded, without taking as the basis of all reasonings concerning them, that *civil independence was as*

* Winthrop, Vol. 1, p. 45, note by J. Savage.

truly their object, as religious liberty ;* — in other words, that the possession of the former was, in their opinion, the essential means — indispensable to the secure enjoyment of the latter, which was their great end.

The master-passion of our early ancestors was dread of the English hierarchy. To place themselves, locally, beyond the reach of its power, they resolved to emigrate. To secure themselves, after their emigration, from the arm of this their ancient oppressor, they devised a plan, which, as they thought, would enable them to establish, under a nominal subjection, an actual independence. The bold and original conception, which they had the spirit to form and successfully to execute, was the attainment and perpetuation of religious liberty, under the auspices of a free commonwealth.† This is the master-key to all their policy, — this the glorious spirit which breathes in all their institutions. Whatever in them is stern, exclusive, or at this day seems questionable, may be accounted for, if not justified, by its connexion with this great purpose.

The question has often been raised, when and by whom the idea of independence of the parent state was first conceived, and by whose act a settled purpose to effect it was first indicated. History does not permit the people of Massachusetts to make a question of this kind. The honour of that thought, and of as efficient a declaration of it as in their circumstances was possible, belongs to Winthrop, and Dudley, and Saltonstall, and their associates, and was included in the declaration, that “THE ONLY CONDITION ON

* See note B.

† See note C.

WHICH THEY WITH THEIR FAMILIES WOULD REMOVE TO THIS COUNTRY, WAS, THAT THE PATENT AND CHARTER SHOULD REMOVE WITH THEM." *

This simple declaration and resolve included, as they had the sagacity to perceive, all the consequences of an effectual independence, under a nominal subjection. For protection against foreign powers, a charter from the parent state was necessary. Its transfer to New England vested, effectually, independence. Those wise leaders foresaw,† that, among the troubles in Europe, incident to the age, and then obviously impending over their parent state, their settlement, from its distance and early insignificance, would probably escape notice. They trusted to events, and doubtless anticipated, that, with its increasing strength, even nominal subjection would be abrogated. They knew that weakness was the law of nature, in the relation between parent states and their distant and detached colonies. Nothing else can be inferred, not only from their making the transfer of the charter the essential condition of their emigration, thereby severing themselves from all responsibility to persons abroad, but also from their instant and undeviating course of policy after their emigration; in boldly assuming whatever powers were necessary to their condition, or suitable to their ends, whether attributes of sovereignty or not, without regard to the nature of the consequences resulting from the exercise of those powers. Nor was this assumption limited to powers which might be deduced from the charter, but was extended to

* See Note D.

† See Note E.

such as no act of incorporation, like that which they possessed, could, by any possibility of legal construction, be deemed to include. By the magic of their daring, a private act of incorporation was transmuted into a civil constitution of state; under the authority of which they made peace and declared war; erected judicatures; coined money; raised armies; built fleets; laid taxes and imposts; inflicted fines, penalties, and death; and, in imitation of the British constitution, by the consent of all its own branches, without asking leave of any other, their legislature modified its own powers and relations, prescribed the qualifications of those who should conduct its authority, and enjoy, or be excluded from its privileges. The administration of the civil affairs of Massachusetts, for the sixty years next succeeding the settlement of this metropolis, was a phenomenon in the history of civil government. Under a theoretic colonial relation, an efficient and independent Commonwealth was erected, claiming and exercising attributes of sovereignty, higher and far more extensive than, at the present day, in consequence of its connexion with the general government, Massachusetts pretends either to exercise or possess. Well might Chalmers assert, as in his *Political Annals of the Colonies* he does, that "Massachusetts, with a peculiar dexterity, abolished her charter;"* that she was always "fruitful in projects of independence, the principles of which, at all times, governed her actions."† In this point of view, it is glory enough for our early ancestors, that, under manifold dis-

* Vol. i. p. 200.

† Vol. i. pp. 158 and 177.

advantages, in the midst of internal discontent and external violence and intrigue, of wars with the savages and with the neighbouring colonies of France, they effected their purpose, and for two generations of men, from 1630 to 1692, enjoyed liberty of conscience, according to their view of that subject, under the auspices of a free commonwealth.

The three objects, which our ancestors proposed to attain and perpetuate by all their institutions, were the noblest within the grasp of the human mind, and those, on which, more than on any other, depend human happiness and hope ; — *religious liberty*, — *civil liberty*, — and, as essential to the attainment and maintenance of both, *intellectual power*.

On the subject of religious liberty, their intolerance of other sects has been reprobated as an inconsistency, and as violating the very rights of conscience for which they emigrated. The inconsistency, if it exist, is altogether constructive, and the charge proceeds on a false assumption. The *necessity* of the policy,* considered in connexion with their great design of independence, is apparent. They had abandoned house and home, had sacrificed the comforts of kindred and cultivated life, had dared the dangers of the sea, and were then braving the still more appalling terrors of the wilderness ; for what ? — to acquire liberty for all sorts of consciences ? Not so ; but to vindicate and maintain the liberty of their own consciences. They did not cross the Atlantic, on a crusade, in behalf of the rights of mankind in general, but in support of their own rights and liberties.

* See Note F.

Tolerate ! Tolerate whom ? The legate of the Roman Pontiff, or the emissary of Charles the First and Archbishop Laud ? How consummate would have been their folly and madness, to have fled into the wilderness to escape the horrible persecutions of those hierarchies, and at once have admitted into the bosom of their society, men brandishing, and ready to apply, the very flames and fetters from which they had fled ! Those who are disposed to condemn them' on this account, neither realize the necessities of their condition, nor the prevailing character of the times. Under the stern discipline of Elizabeth and James, the stupid bigotry of the First Charles, and the spiritual pride of Archbishop Laud, the spirit of the English hierarchy was very different from that which it assumed, when, after having been tamed and humanized under the wholesome discipline of Cromwell and his commonwealth, it yielded itself to the mild influence of the principles of 1688, and to the liberal spirit of Tiltonson.

But it is said, if they did not tolerate their ancient persecutors, they might, at least, have tolerated rival sects. That is, they ought to have tolerated sects, imbued with the same principles of intolerance as the transatlantic hierarchies ; sects, whose first use of power would have been to endeavour to uproot the liberty of our fathers, and persecute them, according to the known principles of sectarian action, with a virulence in the inverse ratio of their reciprocal likeness and proximity. Those, who thus reason and thus condemn, have considered but very superficially the nature of the human mind and its actual condition in the time of our ancestors.

The great doctrine, now so universally recognised, that liberty of conscience is the right of the individual, — a concern between every man and his Maker, with which the civil magistrate is not authorized to interfere, was scarcely, in their day, known, except in private theory and solitary speculation ; as a practical truth, to be acted upon by the civil power, it was absolutely and universally rejected by all men, all parties, and all sects, as totally subversive, not only of the peace of the church, but of the peace of society.* That great truth, now deemed so simple and plain, was so far from being an easy discovery of the human intellect, that it may be doubted whether it would ever have been discovered by human reason at all, had it not been for the miseries in which man was involved in consequence of his ignorance of it. That truth was not evolved by the calm exertion of the human faculties, but was stricken out by the collision of the human passions. It was not the result of philosophic research, but was a hard lesson, taught under the lash of a severe discipline, provided for the gradual instruction of a being like man, not easily brought into subjection to virtue, and with natural propensities to pride, ambition, avarice, and selfishness. Previously to that time, in all modifications of society, ancient or modern, religion had been seen only in close connexion with the state. It was the universal instrument by which worldly ambition shaped and moulded the multitude to its ends. To have attempted the establishment of a state on the basis of a perfect freedom of re-

* Hume's History of England, Vol. vi. p. 168.

ligious opinion, and the perfect right of every man to express his opinion, would then have been considered as much a solecism, and an experiment quite as wild and visionary, as it would be, at this day, to attempt the establishment of a state on the principle of a perfect liberty of individual action, and the perfect right of every man to conduct himself according to his private will. Had our early ancestors adopted the course we, at this day, are apt to deem so easy and obvious, and placed their government on the basis of liberty for all sorts of consciences, it would have been, in that age, a certain introduction of anarchy. It cannot be questioned, that all the fond hopes they had cherished from emigration would have been lost. The agents of Charles and James would have planted here the standard of the transatlantic monarchy and hierarchy. Divided and broken, without practical energy, subject to court-influences and court-favorites, New England at this day would have been a colony of the parent state,* her character yet to be formed and her independence yet to be vindicated.

The non-toleration, which characterized our early ancestors, from whatever source it may have originated, had undoubtedly the effect they *intended and wished*. It excluded from influence in their infant settlement all the friends and adherents of the ancient monarchy and hierarchy; all who, from any motive, ecclesiastical or civil, were disposed to disturb their peace or their churches. They considered it a measure of "*self-defence*." And it is unquestionable, that

* See Note G.

it was chiefly instrumental in forming the homogeneous and exclusively republican character, for which the people of New-England have, in all times, been distinguished; and, above all, that it fixed irrevocably in the country that noble security for religious liberty, the *independent* system of church government.

The principle of the independence of the churches, including the right of every individual to unite with what church he pleases, under whatever sectarian auspices it may have been fostered, has, through the influence of time and experience, lost altogether its exclusive character. It has become the universal guarantee of religious liberty to all sects without discrimination, and is as much the protector of the Roman Catholic, the Episcopalian, and the Presbyterian, as of the Independent form of worship. The security, which results from this principle, does not depend upon charters and constitutions, but on what is stronger than either, the nature of the principle in connexion with the nature of man. So long as this intellectual, moral, and religious being, man, is constituted as he is, the unrestricted liberty of associating for public worship, and the independence of those associations of external control, will necessarily lead to a most happy number and variety of them. In the principle of the independence of each, the liberty of individual conscience is safe under the panoply of the common interest of all. No other perfect security for liberty of conscience was ever devised by man, except this independence of the churches. This possessed, liberty of conscience has no danger. This denied, it has no safety. There can be no greater human security than com-

mon right, placed under the protection of common interest.

It is the excellence and beauty of this simple principle, that, while it secures all, it restricts none. They, who delight in lofty and splendid monuments of ecclesiastical architecture, may raise the pyramid of church power, with its aspiring steps and gradations, until it terminate in the despotism of one, or a few ; the humble dwellers at the base of the proud edifice may wonder, and admire the ingenuity of the contrivance and the splendor of its massive dimensions, but it is without envy and without fear. Safe in the principle of independence, they worship, be it in tent, or tabernacle, or in the open air, as securely as though standing on the topmost pinnacle of the loftiest fabric ambition ever devised.

The glory of discovering and putting this principle to the test, on a scale capable of trying its efficacy, belongs to the fathers of Massachusetts,* who are entitled to a full share of that acknowledgment made by Hume, when he asserts, “that for *all the liberty* of the English constitution that nation is indebted to the Puritans.”

The glory of our ancestors radiates from no point more strongly than from their institutions of learning. The people of New England are the first known to history, who provided, in the original constitution of their society, for the education of the whole population out of the general fund. In other countries, provisions have been made of this character in favor of certain particular classes, or for the poor by way

* Neal's History of the Puritans. Vol. i. p. 438 and 490.

of charity. But here first were the children of the whole community invested with the right of being educated at the expense of the whole society; and not only this,—the obligation to take advantage of that right was enforced by severe supervision and penalties. By simple laws they founded their commonwealth on the only basis on which a republic has any hope of happiness or continuance, the general information of the people. They denominated it “barbarism” not to be able “perfectly to read the English tongue and to know the general laws.”* In soliciting a general contribution for the support of the neighbouring University, they declare that “skill in the tongues and liberal arts, is not only laudable, but *necessary for the well-being* of the commonwealth.”† And in requiring every town, having one hundred house-holders, to set up a Grammar School, provided with a master able to fit youth for the University, the object avowed is, “to enable men to obtain a knowledge of the Scriptures, and by acquaintance with the ancient tongues to qualify them to discern the true sense and meaning of the original, however corrupted by false glosses.” Thus liberal and thus elevated, in respect of learning, were the views of our ancestors.

To the same master-passion, dread of the English hierarchy, and the same main purpose, civil independence, may be attributed, in a great degree, the nature of the government which the principal civil and spiritual influences of the time established, and, notwithstanding its many objectionable features, the willing submission to it of the people.

* Old Colony Laws, p. 26.

† Records of the Colony, p. 117. 19th Oct. 1652.

It cannot be questioned that the constitution of the state, as sketched in the first laws of our ancestors, was a skillful combination of both civil and ecclesiastical powers. Church and state were very curiously and efficiently interwoven with each other. It is usual to attribute to religious bigotry the submission of the mass of the people to a system thus stern and exclusive. It may however, with quite as much justice, be resolved into love of independence and political sagacity.

The great body of the first emigrants doubtless coincided in general religious views with those whose influence predominated in their church and state. They had consequently no personal objection to the stern discipline their political system established. They had also the sagacity to foresee that a system, which by its rigor should exclude from power all who did not concur with their religious views, would have a direct tendency to deter those in other countries from emigrating to their settlement, who did not agree with the general plan of policy they had adopted, and of consequence to increase the probability of their escape from the interference of their ancient oppressors, and the chance of success in laying the foundation of the free commonwealth they contemplated. They also doubtless perceived, that with the unqualified possession of the *elective franchise*, they had little reason to apprehend that they could not easily control or annihilate any ill effect upon their political system, arising from the union of church and state, should it become insupportable.

There is abundant evidence that the submission of the people to this new form of church and state com-

bination was not owing to ignorance, or to indifference to the true principles of civil and religious liberty. Notwithstanding the strong attachment of the early emigrants to their civil, and their almost blind devotion to their ecclesiastical leaders, when, presuming on their influence, either attempted any thing inconsistent with general liberty, a corrective is seen almost immediately applied by the spirit and intelligence of the people.

In this respect, the character of the people of Boston has been at all times distinguished. In every period of our history, they have been second to none in quickness to discern or in readiness to meet every exigency, fearlessly hazarding life and fortune in support of the liberties of the commonwealth. It would be easy to maintain these positions by a recurrence to the annals of each successive age, and particularly to facts connected with our revolutionary struggle. A few instances only will be noticed, and those selected from the earliest times.

A natural jealousy soon sprung up in the metropolis as to the intentions of their civil and ecclesiastical leaders.* In 1634 the people began to fear, lest, by re-electing Winthrop, they "should make way for a Governor for life." They accordingly gave some indications of a design to elect another person. Upon which John Cotton, their great ecclesiastical head, then at the height of his popularity, preached a discourse to the General Court, and delivered this doctrine ; "that a magistrate ought not to be turned out, without just cause, no more than a magistrate might turn out a private man from

* Winthrop, Vol. 1. p. 299.

his freehold, without trial.”* To show their dislike of the doctrine by the most practical of evidences, our ancestors gave the political divine and his adherents a succession of lessons, for which they were probably the wiser all the rest of their lives. They turned out Winthrop at the very same election, and put in Dudley. The year after, they turned out Dudley and put in Haynes. The year after, they turned out Haynes and put in Vane. So much for the first broaching, in Boston, of the doctrine that public office is of the nature of freehold.

In 1635, an attempt was made by the General Court, to elect a certain number of magistrates as counsellors *for life*.† Although Cotton was the author also of this project, and notwithstanding his influence, yet such was the spirit displayed by our ancestors on the occasion, that within three years the General Court‡ was compelled to pass a vote, denying any such intent, and declaring that the persons so chosen should not be accounted magistrates or have any authority in consequence of such election.

In 1636, the great Antinomian controversy divided the country. Boston was for the covenant of grace; the General Court, for the covenant of works. Under pretence of the apprehension of a riot, the General Court adjourned to Newtown, and expelled the Boston deputies for daring to remonstrate. Boston, indignant at this infringement of its liberties, was about electing the same deputies a second time. At the earnest solicitation of Cotton, however, they chose others. One of these was also expelled by

* Winthrop, Vol. i. p. 132.

† Ibid. p. 186.

‡ Ibid. p. 302.

the Court; and a writ having issued to the town ordering a new election, they refused making any return to the warrant, — a contempt which the General Court did not think it wise to resent.

In 1639, there being vacancies in the board of assistants, the Governor and magistrates met and nominated three persons, “not with intent,” as they said, “to lead the people’s choice of these, nor to divert them from any other, but only to propound for consideration (which any freeman may do), and so leave the people to use their liberties according to their consciences.” The result was, that the people did use their liberties according to their consciences. They chose not a man of them.* So much for the first legislative *caucus* in our history. It probably would have been happy for their posterity, if the people had always treated like nominations with as little ceremony.

About this time also the General Court took exception at the length of the “*lectures*,” then the great delight of the people, and at the ill effects resulting from their frequency; whereby poor people were led greatly to neglect their affairs; to the great hazard also of their health, owing to their long continuance in the night. Boston expressed strong dislike † at this interference, “fearing that the precedent might enthrall them to the civil power, and, besides, be a blemish upon them with their posterity, as though they needed to be regulated by the civil magistrate, and raise an ill-savour of their coldness, as if it were possible for the people of Boston to complain of too much preaching.”

* Ibid. Vol. II. p. 343.

† Ibid. Vol. I. p. 325.

The magistrates, fearful lest the people should break their bonds, were content to apologize, to abandon the scheme of shortening lectures or diminishing their number, and to rest satisfied with a general understanding that assemblies should break up in such season, as that people, dwelling a mile or two off, might get home by daylight. Winthrop, on this occasion, passes the following eulogium on the people of Boston, which every period of their history amply confirms; — “They were generally of that understanding and moderation, as that they would be easily guided in their way by any rule from Scripture or sound reason.”

It is curious and instructive to trace the principles of our constitution, as they were successively suggested by circumstances, and gradually gained by the intelligence and daring spirit of the people. For the first four years after their emigration, the freemen, like other corporations, met and transacted business in a body. At this time the people attained a representation under the name of deputies, who sat in the same room with the magistrates, to whose negative all their proceedings were subjected. Next arose the struggle about the negative, which lasted for ten years, and eventuated in the separation of the General Court into two branches, with each a negative on the other.* Then came the jealousy of the deputies concerning the magistrates, † as proceeding too much by their discretion for want of positive laws, and the demand by the deputies that persons should be appointed to frame a body of fundamental laws in resemblance of the English Magna Charta.

* Winthrop, Vol. i. p. 160.

† Ibid. p. 322.

After this occurred the controversy* relative to the powers of the magistrates, during the recess of the General Court; concerning which when the deputies found that no compromise could be made, and the magistrates declared that, "if occasion required, they should act according to the power and trust committed to them," the speaker of the house in his place replied, — "THEN, GENTLEMEN, YOU WILL NOT BE OBEYED."

In every period of our early history, the friends of the ancient hierarchy and monarchy were assiduous in their endeavours to introduce a form of government on the principle of an efficient colonial relation. Our ancestors were no less vigilant to avail themselves of their local situation and of the difficulties of the parent state to defeat those attempts; — or, in their language, "to avoid and protract." They lived, however, under a perpetual apprehension, that a royal governor would be imposed upon them by the law of force. Their resolution never faltered on the point of resistance, to the extent of their power. Notwithstanding Boston would have been the scene of the struggle, and the first victim to it, yet its inhabitants never shrunk from their duty through fear of danger, and were always among the foremost to prepare for every exigency. Castle Island was fortified chiefly, and the battery at the north end of the town, and that called the "Sconce," wholly, by the voluntary contributions of its inhabitants. After the restoration of Charles the Second, their instructions to their representatives in the General Court, breathe one

* Ibid. Vol. II. p. 169.

uniform spirit, — “not to recede from their just rights and privileges as secured by the patent.” When, in 1662, the king’s Commissioners came to Boston, the inhabitants, to show their spirit in support of their own laws, took measures to have them all arrested for a breach of the Saturday evening law; and actually brought them before the magistrate for riotous and abusive carriage. When Randolph, in 1684, came with his *quo warranto* against their charter, on the question being taken in town meeting, “whether the freemen were minded that the General Court should make full submission and entire resignation of their charter, and of the privileges therein granted, to his Majesty’s pleasure,” — *Boston resolved in the negative, without a dissentient.*

In 1689, the tyranny of Andros, the Governor appointed by James the Second, having become insupportable to the whole country, Boston rose, like one man; took the battery on Fort Hill by assault in open day; made prisoners of the king’s Governor, and the Captain of the king’s frigate, then lying in the harbour; and restored, with the concurrence of the country, the authority of the old charter leaders.

By accepting the charter of William and Mary, in 1692, the people of Massachusetts first yielded their claims of independence to the crown. It is only requisite to read the official account of the agents of the colony, to perceive both the resistance they made to that charter, and the necessity which compelled their acceptance of it.* Those agents

*See “A brief Account concerning the Agents of New England, and their Negotiation with the Court of England. By Increase Mather.” London. 1691.

were told by the king's ministers, that they "must take that or none;—that "their consent to it was not asked,"—that if "they would not submit to the king's pleasure they must take what would follow." "The opinion of our lawyers," say the agents, "was, that a passive submission to the new, was not a surrender of the old charter; and that their taking up with this did not make the people of Massachusetts, in law, incapable of *obtaining all their old privileges, whenever a favorable opportunity should present itself.*" In the year 1776, nearly a century afterwards, that "favorable opportunity did present itself," and the people of Massachusetts, in conformity with the opinion of their learned counsel and faithful agents, did vindicate and obtain all their "old privileges" of self-government.

Under the new colonial government, thus authoritatively imposed upon them, arose new parties and new struggles;—prerogative men, earnest for a permanent salary for the king's governor;—patriots, resisting such an establishment, and indignant at the negative exercised by that officer.

At the end of the first century after the settlement, three generations of men had passed away. For vigor, boldness, enterprise, and a self-sacrificing spirit, Massachusetts stood unrivalled.* She had added wealth and extensive dominion to the English crown. She had turned a barren wilderness into a cultivated field, and instead of barbarous tribes had planted civilized communities. She had prevented France from taking possession of the whole of North

* See "A Defence of the New England Charters by Jeremiah Dummer," printed in 1721.

America; conquered Port Royal and Acadia; and attempted the conquest of Canada with a fleet of thirty-two sail and two thousand men. At one time a fifth of her whole effective male population was in arms. When Nevis was plundered by Iberville, she voluntarily transmitted two thousand pounds sterling for the relief of the inhabitants of that island. By these exertions her resources were exhausted, her treasury was impoverished, and she stood bereft, and "alone with her glory."

Boston shared in the embarrassments of the commonwealth. Her commerce was crippled by severe revenue laws, and by a depreciated currency. Her population did not exceed fifteen thousand. In September, 1730, she was prevented from all notice of this anniversary by the desolations of the small-pox.

Notwithstanding the darkness of these clouds, which overhung Massachusetts and its metropolis at the close of the first century, in other aspects the dawn of a brighter day may be discerned. The exclusive policy in matters of religion, to which the state had been subjected, began gradually to give place to a more perfect liberty. Literature was exchanging subtle metaphysics, quaint conceits, and unwieldy lore, for inartificial reasoning, simple taste, and natural thought. Dummer defended the colony in language polished in the society of Pope and of Bolingbroke. Coleman, Cooper, Chauncy, Bowdoin, and others of that constellation, were on the horizon. By their side shone the star of Franklin; its early brightness giving promise of its meridian splendors. Even now began to appear signs of revolution. Voices of

complaint and murmur were heard in the air. "Spirits finely touched and to fine issues,"—willing and fearless,—breathing unutterable things, flashed along the darkness. In the sky were seen streaming lights, indicating the approach of luminaries yet below the horizon; Adams, Hancock, Otis, Warren; leaders of a glorious host;—precursors of eventful times; "with fear of change perplexing monarchs."

It would be appropriate, did time permit, to speak of these luminaries, in connexion with our revolution; to trace the principles, which dictated the first emigration of the founders of this metropolis, through the several stages of their development; and to show that the declaration of independence, in 1776, itself, and all the struggles which preceded it, and all the voluntary sacrifices, the self-devotion, and the sufferings, to which the people of that day submitted, for the attainment of independence, were, so far as respects Massachusetts, but the natural and inevitable consequences of the terms of that noble engagement, made by our ancestors, *in August, 1629, the year before their emigration*;—which may well be denominated, from its early and later results, the first and original declaration of independence by Massachusetts.

"By God's assistance, we will be ready in our persons, and with such of our families as are to go with us, to embark for the said plantation by the first of March next, to pass the seas (under God's protection) to inhabit and continue in New England. Provided always, that before the last of September next, THE WHOLE GOVERNMENT, TOGETHER WITH THE PATENT, BE FIRST LEGALLY TRANSFERRED AND ESTABLISHED,

TO REMAIN WITH US AND OTHERS, WHICH SHALL INHABIT THE SAID PLANTATION.”*—Generous resolution! Noble foresight! Sublime self-devotion; chastened and directed by a wisdom, faithful and prospective of distant consequences! Well may we exclaim —“This policy overtopped all the policy of this world.”

For the advancement of the three great objects which were the scope of the policy of our ancestors,—intellectual power, religious liberty, and civil liberty,—Boston has in no period been surpassed, either in readiness to incur, or in energy to make useful, personal or pecuniary sacrifices. She provided for the education of her citizens out of the general fund, antecedently to the law of the Commonwealth making such provision imperative. Nor can it be questioned, that her example and influence had a decisive effect in producing that law. An intelligent generosity has been conspicuous among her inhabitants on this subject, from the day when, in 1635, they “entreated our brother Philemon Pormont to become schoolmaster, for the teaching and nurturing children with us,” to this hour, when what is equivalent to a capital of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars is invested in school-houses, eighty

* See “A true copie of the agreement at Cambridge, 1629,” in Hutchinson’s “Collection of Original Papers relative to the History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay,” page 25, signed by

Richard Saltonstall,	Isaac Johnson,
Thomas Dudley,	John Humfrey,
William Vassal,	Thomas Sharp,
Nicko: West,	Increase Nowell,
John Winthrop,	William Pynchon,
Kellam Browne,	William Colbron.

schools are maintained, and seven thousand and five hundred children educated at an expense exceeding annually sixty-five thousand dollars. No city in the world, in proportion to its means and population, ever gave more uniform and unequivocal evidences of its desire to diffuse intellectual power and moral culture though the whole mass of the community. The result is every day witnessed, at home and abroad, in private intercourse and in the public assembly; in a quiet and orderly demeanor, in the self-respect and mutual harmony prevalent among its citizens; in the general comfort which characterizes their condition; in their submission to the laws; and in that wonderful capacity for self-government which postponed for almost two centuries, a city organization;—and this, even then, was adopted more with reference to anticipated, than from experience of existing evils. During the whole of that period, and even after its population exceeded fifty thousand, its financial, economical, and municipal interests were managed, either by general vote, or by men appointed by the whole multitude; and with a regularity, wisdom, and success, which it will be happy if future administrations shall equal, and which certainly they will find it difficult to exceed.

The influence of the institutions of our fathers is also apparent in that munificence towards objects of public interest or charity, for which, in every period of its history, the citizens of Boston have been distinguished, and which, by universal consent, is recognised to be a prominent feature in their character. To no city has Boston ever been second in its spirit of liberality. From the first settlement of the

country to this day, it has been a point to which have tended applications for assistance or relief, on account of suffering or misfortune ; for the patronage of colleges, the endowment of schools, the erection of churches, and the spreading of learning and religion,—from almost every section of the United States. Seldom have the hopes of any worthy applicant been disappointed. The benevolent and public spirit of its inhabitants is also evidenced by its hospitals, its asylums, public libraries, almshouses, charitable associations,—in its patronage of the neighbouring University, and in its subscriptions for general charities.

It is obviously impracticable to give any just idea of the amount of these charities. They flow from virtues which seek the shade and shun record. They are silent and secret out-wellings of grateful hearts, desirous unostentatiously to acknowledge the bounty of Heaven in their prosperity and abundance. The result of inquiries, necessarily imperfect, however, authorize the statement, that, in the records of societies having for their objects either learning or some public charity, or in documents in the hands of individuals relative to contributions for the relief of suffering, or the patronage of distinguished merit or talent, there exists evidence of the liberality of the citizens of this metropolis, and that chiefly within the last thirty years, of an amount, by voluntary donation or bequest, exceeding one million and eight hundred thousand dollars.* Far short as this sum falls of the real amount obtained within that period from the liberality of our citizens, it is yet enough to make evident, that the

* See Note II.

best spirit of the institutions of our ancestors survives in the hearts, and is exhibited in the lives, of the citizens of Boston ; inspiring love of country and duty ; stimulating to the active virtues of benevolence and charity ; exciting wealth and power to their best exercises ; counteracting what is selfish in our nature ; and elevating the moral and social virtues to wise sacrifices and noble energies.

With respect to religious liberty, where does it exist in a more perfect state, than in this metropolis ? Or where has it ever been enjoyed in a purer spirit, or with happier consequences ? In what city of equal population are all classes of society more distinguished for obedience to the institutions of religion, for regular attendance on its worship, for more happy intercourse with its ministers, or more uniformly honorable support of them ? In all struggles connected with religious liberty, and these are inseparable from its possession, it may be said of the inhabitants of this city, as truly as of any similar association of men, that they have ever maintained the freedom of the Gospel in the spirit of Christianity. Divided into various sects, their mutual intercourse has, almost without exception, been harmonious and respectful. The labors of intemperate zealots, with which, occasionally, every age has been troubled, have seldom, in this metropolis, been attended with their natural and usual consequences. Its sects have never been made to fear or hate one another. The genius of its inhabitants, through the influence of the intellectual power which pervades their mass, has ever been quick to detect "close ambition varnished o'er with zeal." The modes, the forms, the disci-

pline, the opinions, which our ancestors held to be essential, have, in many respects, been changed or obliterated with the progress of time, or been counter-vailed or superseded by rival forms and opinions. But veneration for the sacred Scriptures and attachment to the right of free inquiry, which were the substantial motives of their emigration and of all their institutions, remain, and are maintained in a Christian spirit, (judging by life and language) certainly not exceeded in the times of any of our ancestors. The right to read those Scriptures is universally recognised. The means to acquire the possession and to attain the knowledge of them are multiplied by the intelligence and liberality of the age, and extended to every class of society. All men are invited to search for themselves concerning the grounds of their hopes of future happiness and acceptance. All are permitted to hear from the lips of our Saviour himself, that "the meek," "the merciful," "the pure in heart," "the persecuted for righteousness' sake," are those who shall receive the blessing, and be admitted to the presence, of the Eternal Father; and to be assured from those sacred records, that, "in every nation, he who feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of him." Elevated by the power of these sublime assurances, as conformable to reason as to revelation, man's intellectual principle rises "above the smoke and stir of this dim spot," and, like an eagle soaring above the Andes, looks down on the cloudy cliffs, the narrow, separating points, and flaming craters, which divide and terrify men below.

It is scarcely necessary, on this occasion, to speak of civil liberty, or tell of our constitutions of govern-

ment ; of the freedom they maintain and are calculated to preserve ; of the equality they establish ; the self-respect they encourage ; the private and domestic virtues they cherish ; the love of country they inspire ; the self-devotion and self-sacrifice they enjoin ; — all these are but the filling up of the great outline sketched by our fathers, the parts in which, through the darkness and perversity of their times, they were defective, being corrected ; all are but endeavours, conformed to their great, original conception, to group together the strength of society and the religious and civil rights of the individual, in a living and breathing spirit of efficient power, by forms of civil government, adapted to our condition, and adjusted to social relations of unexampled greatness and extent, unparalleled in their results, and connected by principles elevated as the nature of man, and immortal as his destinies.

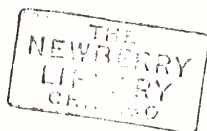
It is not, however, from local position, nor from general circumstances of life and fortune, that the peculiar felicity of this metropolis is to be deduced. Her enviable distinction is, that she is among the chiefest of that happy New England family, which claims descent from the early emigrants. If we take a survey of that family, and, excluding from our view the unnumbered multitudes of its members who have occupied the vacant wildernesses of other states, we restrict our thoughts to the local sphere of New England, what scenes open upon our sight ! How wild and visionary would seem our prospects, did we indulge only natural anticipations of the future ! Already, on an area of seventy thousand square miles, a population of two millions ; all, but

comparatively a few, descendants of the early emigrants! Six independent Commonwealths, with constitutions varying in the relations and proportions of power, yet uniform in all their general principles; diverse in their political arrangements, yet each sufficient for its own necessities; all harmonious with those without, and peaceful within; embracing, under the denomination of *towns*, upwards of twelve hundred effective republics, with qualified powers, indeed, but possessing potent influences;—subject themselves to the respective state sovereignties, yet directing all their operations, and shaping their policy by constitutional agencies; swayed, no less than the greater republics, by passions, interests, and affections; like them, exciting competitions which rouse into action the latent energies of mind, and infuse into the mass of each society a knowledge of the nature of its interests, and a capacity to understand and share in the defence of those of the Commonwealth. The effect of these minor republics is daily seen in the existence of practical talents, and in the readiness with which those talents can be called into the public service of the state.

If, after this general survey of the surface of New England, we cast our eyes on its cities and great towns, with what wonder should we behold, did not familiarity render the phenomenon almost unnoticed, men, combined in great multitudes, possessing freedom and the consciousness of strength,—the comparative physical power of the ruler less than that of a cobweb across a lion's path,—yet orderly, obedient, and respectful to authority; a people, but

no populace ; every class in reality existing, which the general law of society acknowledges, except one,—and this exception characterizing the whole country. The soil of New England is trodden by no slave. In our streets, in our assemblies, in the halls of election and legislation, men of every rank and condition meet, and unite or divide on other principles, and are actuated by other motives, than those growing out of such distinctions. The fears and jealousies, which in other countries separate classes of men and make them hostile to each other, have here no influence, or a very limited one. Each individual, of whatever condition, has the consciousness of living under known laws, which secure equal rights, and guarantee to each whatever portion of the goods of life, be it great or small, chance, or talent, or industry may have bestowed. All perceive that the honors and rewards of society are open equally to the fair competition of all ; that the distinctions of wealth, or of power, are not fixed in families ; that whatever of this nature exists to-day, may be changed to-morrow, or, in a coming generation, be absolutely reversed. Common principles, interests, hopes, and affections, are the result of universal education. Such are the consequences of the equality of rights, and of the provisions for the general diffusion of knowledge and the distribution of intestate estates, established by the laws framed by the earliest emigrants to New England.

If from our cities we turn to survey the wide expanse of the interior, how do the effects of the institutions and example of our early ancestors appear, in all the local comfort and accommodation which mark the general condition of the whole coun-



try;—unobtrusive indeed, but substantial; in nothing splendid, but in every thing sufficient and satisfactory. Indications of active talent and practical energy exist every where. With a soil comparatively little luxuriant, and in great proportion either rock, or hill, or sand, the skill and industry of man are seen triumphing over the obstacles of nature; making the rock the guardian of the field; moulding the granite, as though it were clay; leading cultivation to the hill-top, and spreading over the arid plain, hitherto unknown and unanticipated harvests. The lofty mansion of the prosperous adjoins the lowly dwelling of the husbandman; their respective inmates are in the daily interchange of civility, sympathy, and respect. Enterprise and skill, which once held chief affinity with the ocean or the sea-board, now begin to delight the interior, haunting our rivers, where the music of the waterfall, with powers more attractive than those of the fabled harp of Orpheus, collects around it intellectual man and material nature. Towns and cities, civilized and happy communities, rise, like exhalations, on rocks and in forests, till the deep and far-resounding voice of the neighbouring torrent is itself lost and unheard, amid the predominating noise of successful and rejoicing labor.

What lessons has New England, in every period of her history, given to the world! What lessons do her condition and example still give! How unprecedented; yet how practical! How simple; yet how powerful! She has proved, that all the variety of Christian sects may live together in harmony, under a government, which allows equal privileges to all,—

exclusive pre-eminence to none. She has proved, that ignorance among the multitude is not necessary to order, but that the surest basis of perfect order is the information of the people. She has proved the old maxim, that "no government, except a despotism with a standing army, can subsist where the people have arms," is false. Ever since the first settlement of the country, arms have been required to be in the hands of the whole multitude of New England; yet the use of them in a private quarrel, if it have ever happened, is so rare, that a late writer, of great intelligence, who had passed his whole life in New England, and possessed extensive means of information, declares, "I know not a single instance of it." * She has proved, that a people, of a character essentially military, may subsist without duelling. New England has, at all times, been distinguished, both on the land and on the ocean, for a daring, fearless, and enterprising spirit; yet the same writer † asserts, that during the whole period of her existence, her soil has been disgraced but by *five* duels, and that only *two* of these were fought by her native inhabitants! Perhaps this assertion is not minutely correct. There can however be no question, that it is sufficiently near the truth to justify the position for which it is here adduced, and which the history of New England, as well as the experience of her inhabitants, abundantly confirms; that, in the present and in every past age, the spirit of our institutions

* See "Travels in New England and New York, by Timothy Dwight, S. T. D., LL. D., late President of Yale College." Vol. iv. p. 334.

† Ibid. p. 336.

has, to every important practical purpose, annihilated the spirit of duelling.

Such are the true glories of the institutions of our fathers ! Such the natural fruits of that patience in toil, that frugality of disposition, that temperance of habit, that general diffusion of knowledge, and that sense of religious responsibility, inculcated by the precepts, and exhibited in the example of every generation of our ancestors !

And now, standing at this hour on the dividing line which separates the ages that are past, from those which are to come, how solemn is the thought, that not one of this vast assembly — not one of that great multitude who now throng our streets, rejoice in our fields, and make our hills echo with their gratulations, shall live to witness the next return of the era we this day celebrate ! The dark veil of futurity conceals from human sight the fate of cities and nations, as well as of individuals. Man passes away ; generations are but shadows ; — there is nothing stable but truth ; principles only are immortal.

What then, in conclusion of this great topic, are the elements of the liberty, prosperity, and safety, which the inhabitants of New England at this day enjoy ? In what language, and concerning what comprehensive truths, does the wisdom of former times address the inexperience of the future ?

Those elements are simple, obvious, and familiar.

Every civil and religious blessing of New England, all that here gives happiness to human life, or security to human virtue, is alone to be perpetuated in the forms and under the auspices of a free commonwealth.

The commonwealth itself has no other strength or hope, than the intelligence and virtue of the individuals that compose it.

For the intelligence and virtue of individuals, there is no other human assurance than laws, providing for the education of the whole people.

These laws themselves have no strength, or efficient sanction, except in the moral and accountable nature of man, disclosed in the records of the Christian's faith; the right to read, to construe, and to judge concerning which, belongs to no class or cast of men, but exclusively to the individual, who must stand or fall by his own acts and his own faith, and not by those of another.

The great comprehensive truths, written in letters of living light on every page of our history, — the language addressed by every past age of New England to all future ages is this; — *Human happiness has no perfect security but freedom; — freedom none but virtue; — virtue none but knowledge; and neither freedom, nor virtue, nor knowledge has any vigor, or immortal hope, except in the principles of the Christian faith, and in the sanctions of the Christian religion.*

Men of Massachusetts! Citizens of Boston! descendants of the early emigrants! consider your blessings; consider your duties. You have an inheritance acquired by the labors and sufferings of six successive generations of ancestors. They founded the fabric of your prosperity, in a severe and masculine morality; having intelligence for its cement, and religion for its ground-work. Continue to

build on the same foundation, and by the same principles; let the extending temple of your country's freedom rise, in the spirit of ancient times, in proportions of intellectual and moral architecture, — just, simple, and sublime. As from the first to this day, let New England continue to be an example to the world, of the blessings of a free government, and of the means and capacity of man to maintain it. And, in all times to come, as in all times past, may Boston be among the foremost and the boldest to exemplify and uphold whatever constitutes the prosperity, the happiness, and the glory of New England.

NOTES.

Note A., page 9.

Bostonais. The name is thus applied, at this day, by the Canadian French. During our revolutionary war, Americans from the United States were thus designated in France. Nor was the custom wholly discontinued even as late as the year 1795. "We may remark," says a writer in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, (Vol. VI, First Series, p. 69,) "that Boston was not only the capital of Massachusetts, but the town most celebrated of any in North America. Its trade was extensive; and the name often stands for the country in old authors."

Note B., page 22.

The testimony of Chalmers, in his "Political Annals of the United Colonies," to the early and undeviating spirit of independence which actuated the first emigrants to Massachusetts, is constant, unequivocal, and conclusive. Those Annals were written during the American revolution, and published in the year 1780, in the heat of that controversy, and under the auspices of the British government. A few extracts from that work, tending to show the pertinacious spirit of independence which characterized our ancestors, and corroborative of the position maintained in the text, cannot fail to be interesting.

"The Charter of Charles the First, obtained in March, 1628-9, was the only one which Massachusetts possessed prior to the revolution of 1688, and contained its most ancient privileges. *On this was most dexterously engrafted, not only the original government of that colony, but even independence itself.*"—Book I. c. vi. p. 136.

"The nature of their government was now (1634) changed by a variety of regulations, the legality of which cannot easily be supported by any other than those *principles of independence*,

which sprang up among them, and have at all times governed their actions.”—Book I. p. 158.

Concerning the confederation entered into by the United Colonies of New England in 1643, Chalmers thus expresses himself.

“The most inattentive must perceive the exact resemblance that confederation bears to a similar junction of the colonies, more recent [that of 1775], extensive, and powerful. *Both originated from Massachusetts, always fruitful in projects of independence. Wise men, at the era of both, remarked, that those memorable associations established a complete system of absolute sovereignty, because the principles upon which it was erected* NECESSARILY LED TO WHAT IT WAS NOT THE POLICY OF THE PRINCIPAL AGENTS AT EITHER PERIOD TO AVOW !

“The principles, upon which this famous association [that of 1643] was formed, were altogether those of independency, and it cannot easily be supported on any other. The consent of the governing powers in England was never applied for and was never given.”—Book I. c. viii. pp. 177, 178.

“Principles of aggrandisement seem constantly to have been had in view by Massachusetts, as the only rule of its conduct.”—Book I. p. 180.

“Massachusetts, in conformity to its accustomed principles, acted, during the civil wars, almost altogether as an independent state. It formed leagues, not only with the neighbouring colonies, but with foreign nations, without the consent or knowledge of the government of England. It permitted no appeals from its courts to the judicatories of the sovereign state, without which a dependence cannot be preserved or enforced ; and it refused to exercise its jurisdiction in the name of the commonwealth of England. It assumed the government of that part of New England, which is now called New Hampshire, and even extended its power farther eastward over the Province of Maine ; and, by force of arms it compelled those, who had fled from its persecutions beyond its boundaries into the wilderness, to submit to its authority. It erected a mint at Boston, impressing the year 1652 on the coin, *as the era of independence.* Though, as we are assured, the coining of money is the prerogative of the sovereign, and not the privilege of a colony.”

“The practice was continued till the dissolution of its government ; *thus evincing to all what had been foreseen by the wise,*

that a people of such principles, religious and political, settling at so great a distance from control, would necessarily form an independent state." — Book I. c. viii. p. 181.

"The committee of state of the long parliament, having resolved to oblige Massachusetts to acknowledge their authority, by taking a new patent from them and by keeping its courts in their name, that colony, according to its wonted policy, by petition and remonstrance, declaring the love they bore the parliament, the sufferings they had endured in their cause, and their readiness to stand or fall with them, and by flattering Cromwell, prevailed so far as that the requisitions abovementioned were never complied with, and the General Court consequently gained the point in the controversy." — Book I. c. viii. pp. 184, 185.

"But Massachusetts did not only thus artfully foil the parliament, but it out-fawned and out-witted Cromwell. They declined his invitation to assist his fleet and army, destined to attack the Dutch at Manhattan in 1653, and acknowledging the continued series of his favors to the colonies, told him, that, *"having been exercised with serious thoughts of its duty at that juncture, which were, that it was most agreeable to the gospel of peace and safest for the plantations to forbear the use of the sword,* if it had been misled, it humbly craved his pardon." — Book I. c. viii. p. 185.

"The address of Massachusetts abovementioned, it should seem, gave perfect satisfaction to Cromwell. Its winning courtship seems to have captivated his rugged heart, and, notwithstanding a variety of complaints were made to him against that colony, so strong were his attachments, that all attempts, either to obtain redress, or to prejudice it in his esteem, were to no purpose. Thus did Massachusetts, by the prudence or vigor of its councils, triumph over its opponents abroad." — Book I. c. viii. p. 188.

"After the death of Cromwell, Massachusetts acted with a cautious neutrality. *She refused to acknowledge the authority of Richard any more than that of the Parliament or Protector,* BECAUSE ALL SUBMISSION WOULD HAVE BEEN INCONSISTENT WITH HER INDEPENDENCE."

"She heard the tidings of the restoration with that scrupulous incredulity, with which men listen to news which they wish not to be true." — Book I. c. x. p. 249.

"Prince Charles the Second had received so many proofs of the attachment of the colonies, during the season of trial, *New England only excepted*, that he judged rightly, when he presumed they would listen to the news of his restoration with pleasure, and submit to his just authority with alacrity. Nor was he in the least deceived. They proclaimed his accession with a joy in proportion to their recollection of their late sufferings, and to their hope of future blessings. Of the recent conduct of Massachusetts, he was well instructed; he foresaw what really happened, that it would receive the tidings of his good fortune with extreme coldness; he was informed of the proceedings of a society which assembled at Cooper's Hall, in order to promote its interests, and with them, *the good old cause of civility to regal power*. And in May, 1661, he appointed the great officers of state a committee, 'touching the affairs of New England.' That Prince and that colony mutually hated and contemned and feared each other, during his reign, because the one suspected its principles of attachment, and the other dreaded an invasion of its privileges."—Book I. p. 243.

"The same vessel which brought king Charles's proclamation to Boston, in 1660, brought also Whalley and Goffe, two of the regicides. Far from concealing themselves, they were received very courteously by Governor Endicott, and with universal regard by the people of New England. Of this conduct, Charles the Second, was perfectly informed, and with it he afterwards reproached Massachusetts."—Book I. c. x. pp. 249, 250.

"The General Court soon turned its attention to a subject of higher concernment; the present condition of affairs. In order rightly to understand that duty which the people owed to themselves, and that obedience which was due to the authority of England, a committee at length reported a declaration of rights and duties, which at once shows the extent of their claims, and their dexterity at involving what they wished to conceal. The General Court resolved, — 'That the patent (under God) was the first and main foundation of the civil polity of that colony; that the Governor and Company are, by the patent, a body politic, which is vested with power to make freemen; that they have authority to chuse a governor, deputy-governor, assistants, and select representatives; that this government hath ability to set up all kinds of offices; that the governor, deputy-governor, assistants, and select deputies, have full jurisdiction, both legislative and executive, for the govern-

ment of the people here, without appeals, 'excepting law or laws repugnant to the laws of England'; that this company is privileged to defend itself against all who shall attempt its annoyance; that any imposition, prejudicial to the country, contrary to any of its just ordinances (not repugnant to the laws of England), is an infringement of its rights.' — Having thus with a genuine air of sovereignty, by its own act, established its own privileges, it decided 'concerning its duties and allegiance'; and these were declared to consist in upholding that colony as of right belonging to his Majesty, and not subject to any foreign potentate; in preserving his person and dominions; in settling the peace and prosperity of the king and nation, by punishing crimes, and by propagating the gospel. It was at the same time determined, that the royal warrant for apprehending Whalley and Goffe ought to be faithfully executed; that if any legally obnoxious, and fleeing from the civil justice of the state of England, shall come over to these parts, they may not expect shelter.' What a picture do these resolutions display of the embarrassments of the General Court, between its principles of independence on the one hand, and its apprehension of giving offence to the state of England, on the other." — Book I. p. 252.

"During the whole reign of Charles the Second, Massachusetts continued to act as she always had done, as an independent state."

"Disregarding equally her charter and the laws of England, *Massachusetts established for herself, an independent government, similar to those of the Grecian republics.*" — Book I. c. xvi. p. 400; also c. xxii. p. 682.

It is not easy to perceive on what ground Chalmers supports the charge against our ancestors, of "concealment" of their real intentions, by the General Court in their declaration of rights, above quoted, from page 252 of his Annals. On the contrary, it seems to have been conceived in a spirit of boldness, which, considering the weakness of the colony, might be much better denominated imprudently explicit than evasive. It is difficult to conceive what the General Court could have added to that declaration of their right to independent self-government, unless they had been prepared to draw the sword against the king and throw away the scabbard.

Note C., page 22.

This is apparent from the fact, that they did form and maintain such a commonwealth, and from the further fact that in no other

way could they, in that age, have had any hope successfully to maintain and transmit to their posterity religious liberty, according to their conception of that blessing. Those who reason practically concerning the motives of mankind, must take their data from their master-passions, and the necessities of their situation. Acts best develop intentions. Official language takes its modification from circumstances, and is often necessarily a very equivocal indication of motives.

To escape from the dominion of the English hierarchy, was our ancestors' leading design and firm purpose. They took refuge in the forms and principles of a commonwealth; trusting to their own intellectual skill and physical power for its support. They were well apprized of the fixed determination of the English hierarchy, from the earliest times of their emigration, to subject them to its supremacy, if possible; and this design is distinctly avowed by Chalmers.

"The enjoyment of liberty of conscience, the free worship of the Supreme Being in the manner most agreeable to themselves, were the great objects of the colonists, which they often declared was the principal end of their emigration. Nevertheless, though their historians assert the contrary, the *charter did not grant spontaneously to them a freedom*, which had been denied to the solicitations of the Brownists; and it is extremely probable that *so essential an omission arose, not from accident, but design.*"

"In conformity to his intentions of establishing the Church of England in the plantations, James had refused to grant to that sect the privilege of exercising its own peculiar modes, though solicited by the powerful interest of the Virginia Company. *His successor adopted and pursued the same policy under the direction of Land, 'who, we are assured, kept a jealous eye over New England.'* And *this reasoning is confirmed by the present patent, which required, with peculiar caution, 'that the OATH OF SUPREMACY shall be administered to every one, who shall pass to the colony and inhabit there.'*" — Book I. c. vi. p. 141.

Note D., page 23.

The consentaneousness of the views entertained by Chalmers, with those presented in the text, respecting the motives of our ancestors in making the removal of the charter the condition of their emigration, is remarkable.

"Several persons of considerable consequence in the nation, who had adopted the principles of the Puritans, and who wished to enjoy their own mode of worship, formed the resolution of emigrating to Massachusetts. But they felt themselves inferior, neither to the governor nor assistants of the company. *They saw and dreaded the inconvenience of being governed by laws made for them without their consent: and it appeared more rational to them, that the colony should be ruled by those who made it the place of their residence, than by men dwelling at the distance of three thousand miles, over whom they had no control.* At the same time therefore, that they proposed to transport themselves, their families, and their estates, to that country, they insisted that the charter should be transmitted with them, and that the corporate powers, which were conferred by it, should be executed, in future, in New England."

"A transaction, similar to this, in all its circumstances, is not to be easily met with in story."—Book I. c. vi. pp. 150, 151.

It is very plain from the above extract, that Chalmers understood the transfer of the charter to this country in the light in which it is represented in the text;—that the object was *self-government*; an intention "not to be governed by laws made for them, without their consent";—a determination that those "should rule in New England, who made it the place of their residence"; and "*not those who dwell at the distance of three thousand miles, over whom they had no control.*"

Two causes have concurred to keep the motives of our ancestors in that measure, from the direct development which its nature deserves. The first was, that their motives could not be avowed consistently with that *nominal dependence*, which in the weakness of the early emigrants was unavoidable. The other was, that almost all the impressions left concerning our early history, have been derived through the medium of the clergy, who naturally gave an exclusive attention to the predominating motive, which was, unquestionably, religious liberty, and paid less regard to what the colonial statesmen of that day as unquestionably considered to be the essential means to that end. The men who said "they would not go to New England unless the patent went with them," were not clergymen, but high-minded statesmen, who knew what was included in that transfer. Their conduct and that of their immedi-

ate descendants, speak a language of determined civil independence, not, at this day, to be gainsaid.

Winthrop gives, incidentally, a remarkable evidence of his own sensibility, on the subject of the right of self-government, in the very earliest period after their emigration.

"Mr. Winslow, the late Governor of Plymouth," Winthrop relates, "being this year (1635) in England, petitioned the council for a commission to withstand the intrusions of the Dutch and French. *Now this,*" Winthrop remarks, "*was undertaken with ill-advice; for such precedents endanger our liberty, THAT WE SHOULD DO NOTHING HEREAFTER BUT BY COMMISSION OUT OF ENGLAND*"—Winthrop, Vol. i. p. 172.

Note E., page 23.

That the early emigrants foresaw that the transfer of the charter would effectually vest independence, may be deduced, not only from the whole tenor of their conduct after their emigration, which was an effectual exercise of independence, but from the fact *of the secrecy, with which this intention to transfer the charter was maintained, until it was actually on this side of the Atlantic.*

Our ancestors readily anticipated with what jealousy this transfer would be viewed by the English government; and were accordingly solicitous to keep it from being known until they and the original charter were beyond their power. The original records of the General Court, in which the topic of this transfer of the charter was first agitated, speak a language on this subject, not to be mistaken.

The terms of this record are as follows:

"At a General Court holden at London, for the Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, in Mr. Deputy's house, on Tuesday, the 28th of July, 1629. Present,

Mr. MATHEW CRADOCK, *Governor.*

Mr. GOFF, *Deputy Gov.*"

Here follow the names of the "assistants" and "generality," who were present.

"Mr. Governor read certain propositions conceived by himself, viz. that for the advancement of the plantation, the inducing and encouraging persons of worth and quality to transplant themselves and families thither, and for other weighty reasons therein contained, *to transfer the government of the plantation to those that shall*

inhabit there, and not to continue the same in subordination to the company here, as now it is. This business occasioned some debate ; but *by reason of the many great and considerable consequences thereupon depending*, it was not now resolved upon, but those present are *privately* and seriously to consider hereof, and to set down their particular reasons in writing, pro and contra, and to produce the same at the next General Court, where they being reduced to heads and maturely considered of, the company may then proceed to a final resolution therein, and in the mean time THEY ARE DESIRED TO CARRY THIS BUSINESS SECRETLY, THAT THE SAME BE NOT DIVULGED." — See original records of Massachusetts, p. 19.

What our ancestors thought they had gained, or what practical consequences they intended to deduce from this transfer of the patent, and from their possession of it in this country, is apparent from the reasons, given by Winthrop, for not obeying the court mandate, to send the patent to England.

Winthrop's account is as follows :

"The General Court was assembled [1638], in which it was agreed, that whereas a very strict order was sent from the Lords Commissioners for Plantations, for sending home our patent, upon pretence that judgment had passed against it upon a *quo warranto*, a letter should be written by the Governor in the name of the Court, to excuse our not sending it ; for it was resolved to be best, not to send it, because then such of our friends and others in England would conceive it to be surrendered, *and that thereupon, we should be bound to receive such a Governor and such orders, as should be sent to us, and many bad minds, yea, and some weak ones, among ourselves, would think it lawful, if not necessary, to accept a general governor.*" — Winthrop, Vol. I. p. 269.

Note F., page 25.

The object of this policy was perceived by Chalmers. Thus, he reprobates the law, that "none should be admitted to the freedom of the company but such as were church members, and that none but freemen should vote at elections or act as magistrates and jurymen," because it excluded *from all participation in the government*, those who could not comply with the necessary requisites. He understood well, that it was a means of defence against the English hierarchy, and intended to exclude from influence all who were of the English church ; and complains of it as being "*made*

in the true spirit of retaliation," (Book I. p. 153.) and adds, that "this severe law, notwithstanding the vigorous exertions of Charles the Second, continued in force till the *quo warranto* laid in ruins the structure of the government that had established it."

To prove *the necessity* of this exclusive policy of our ancestors, and that it was strictly a measure of "self-defence," it is proper to remark, that as early as April, 1635, a commission was issued for the government of the Plantations, *granting absolute power to the Archbishop of Canterbury and to others*, "TO MAKE LAWS AND CONSTITUTIONS, CONCERNING EITHER THEIR STATE PUBLIC OR THE UTILITY OF INDIVIDUALS, AND FOR THE RELIEF OF THE CLERGY TO CONSIGN CONVENIENT MAINTENANCE UNTO THEM BY TITHES AND OBLATIONS AND OTHER PROFITS ACCORDING TO THEIR DISCRETION," AND THEY WERE EMPOWERED TO INFLICT PUNISHMENTS, EITHER BY IMPRISONMENT OR BY LOSS OF LIFE AND MEMBERS.

A broader charter of hierarchical despotism was never conceived. The only means of protection against it, to which our ancestors could resort, was that which they adopted. By the principle of making church-membership a qualification for the enjoyment of the rights of a freeman, they excluded from all political influence the friends of the hierarchy. To the same motive may be referred that other principle, that "no churches should be gathered but such as were approved by the magistrate." Notwithstanding that the direct tendency of these principles was to destroy the influence of the crown and the hierarchy in the colony, the obviousness of the motive is unnoticed by Chalmers, for the sake of repeating the gross charge of bigotry; and this too at the very time when he is urging their design of independence against our ancestors as their great crime. Our ancestors could not avow their ruling motive; and they seem at all times to be actuated by the noble principle of being content to submit in their own characters to the obloquy of bigotry, as a less evil than that their children should become subject to the hierarchy of the Stuarts.

It is difficult to perceive how the principles of this commission could have been otherwise resisted by our ancestors, than by putting at once out of influence all those disposed to yield submission to it. Nor was it possible for them to apply their disqualification directly to the adherents of the English hierarchy. They were compelled, if it were adopted at all, to make it general, and to acquiesce in the charge of bigotry in order to give efficacy to their policy.

Note G., page 28.

Lest the consequences of an opposite policy, had it been adopted by our ancestors, may seem to be exaggerated, as here represented, it is proper to state, that upon the strength and united spirit of New England mainly depended (under Heaven) the success of our revolutionary struggle. Had New England been divided, or even less unanimous, independence would have scarcely been attempted, or, if attempted, acquired. It will give additional strength to this argument to observe, that the number of troops, regular and militia, furnished by all the states during the war of the revolution, was

288,134

Of these, New England furnished more than half, viz. 147,674

And Massachusetts alone furnished nearly one third, viz. 83,162

See the "Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society," Vol. I. p. 236.

Note H., page 44.

Amounts received from the liberality of the citizens of Boston towards objects of a public nature, of a moral, religious, or literary character, chiefly within the last thirty years, as stated in the text.

I. By the following Societies;

Boston Athenæum	-	-	-	-	75,000
Humanic Society	-	-	-	-	20,791
Boston Dispensary for the Medical Relief of the Poor					19,000
Massachusetts General Hospital	-	-	-		354,400
Massachusetts Charitable Society		-	-		16,714
Boston Penitent Female Refuge Society		-	-		15,172
Boston Fragment Society	-	-	-	-	15,205
Boston Mechanics' Institution		-	-	-	6,119
Boston Eye and Ear Infirmary	-	-	-	-	5,500
Boston Female Asylum	-	-	-	-	79,582
Boston Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge					1,035
Boston Society for the Religious and Moral Instruction of the Poor	-	-	-	-	23,500
Charitable Mechanic Association		-	-	-	15,000
Boston Asylum for Indigent Boys	-	-	-		20,000
					<hr/> \$667,018

	Amount brought up	\$667,018
Fatherless and Widows' Society	-	6,320
Howard Benevolent Society	-	16,900
Charitable Fund, placed under the control of the Overseers of the Poor, and derived from private benevolence	-	95,000
Massachusetts Congregational Charitable So- ciety	-	51,000
Seamen's Friend Society	-	3,000
American Education Society	-	32,228
Bible Society	-	40,000
Harvard College and the several Institu- tions embraced within, or connected with, that seminary	-	222,696
Theological Institution at Andover	-	21,824
		<hr/> 488,968

[From the above amounts have been as far as possible excluded all sums not derived from the citizens of Boston. Those amounts also must not be understood as expressing *the present amount of funds* of these Societies, although in many instances it is the case; the object of this recapitulation being not to represent the actual state of each of those Societies at this time, but the amount they have, within the time specified, received from the liberal and public spirit of the citizens of Boston.]

1,155,986

II. Various contributions for the relief of suf-

ferers by fire in Boston	-	34,528
in Newburyport	-	16,500
in St. Johns	-	8,666
in Augusta	-	2,264
in Wiscasset	-	5,504
		<hr/> 67,462

[The above, although excluding many known contributions, are all of which the amounts could be ascertained with accuracy.]

1,223,448

III. Moneys raised, within the time specified in the text, by various contributions, or by donations of individuals, either from motives of charity, or for the patronizing of distinguished merit, or for the relief of men eminent for their public services,—

Amount brought up	\$1,223,448
the evidences of which have been examined for this purpose, (testamentary bequests not being included,)	
	8,000
	11,000
	24,500
	10,000
	1,400
	6,000
	2,000
	5,000
	5,000
In sums between 500 and 1500 - -	35,500
	<u>108,400</u>

[Particular names and objects have been omitted from motives of delicacy or propriety.]

IV. Amount collected for objects of general charity, or for the promotion of literary, moral, or religious purposes by, or under the influence of, various religious societies in the metropolis (not including the particular annual objects of expenditure of each society), communicated by the several officers of those societies, or by individuals having access to their records or to the papers containing evidence of such collections - - - - -	469,425
	<u>\$1,801,273</u>

[The names of the particular societies and objects it is not deemed proper to publish,

1. Because it was the express wish of several officers of the societies, that it should not be done.
2. Because several of the societies could not be applied to, and their omission here might imply that they have not made similar collections, which would be unjust.
3. Because, since the account of the amounts thus collected depends upon the retaining or not retaining (often accidental) of the evidence of such collections, the comparative returns are very different from what there is reason to believe were the comparative amounts collected, as they would have appeared, had the evidence in all cases been equally well retained.

The object, on this occasion, has not been completeness, which was known to be impracticable, but as near an approximation to it as was possible. How far short the statement in this item is from the real amount collected, may be gathered from this

fact,—that information was requested *for the amount collected within the last thirty years* ; yet more than half the sum stated in this item arose from collections *made within the last ten years*.

As a farther illustration, it may not be improper to state, that, within the last twelve years, *five* citizens of Boston have deceased, whose bequests for objects exclusively of public interest or benevolence, when united, amount to a sum exceeding *three hundred thousand dollars* ; and that one of these, during the last twenty years of his life, is known to have given away, toward similar objects, a sum equal to *ten thousand dollars annually*.]

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